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United States Department of State  
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Washington, D.C. 20520

FILE

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May 27, 1987

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TO: NSC -- Colin Powell

FROM: EUR -- Rozanne L. Ridgway

SUBJECT: President's Berlin Speech

Thank you for informally providing me on May 26 a copy of the working draft from the speechwriters. I understand that the draft will not be used. However, I offer you the following informal comments on the substance to assist as future drafts are developed. While a number of facts in the draft should be researched for accuracy, the following comments are directed towards the substantive elements of the draft.

- The draft includes too many German phrases, which are too complex. Experience indicates that while one or two brief phrases may be appreciated, lengthier statements tend to be confusing to a German crowd, even if pronounced properly. The expression "Berliner Schnauze", for example, can easily be misinterpreted as a reference to Berliners being brash with big mouths.
- The draft emphasizes historical systemic conflicts and East-West differences. We prefer to be more forward-looking, emphasizing overcoming barriers, the tasks before us, and areas where progress might be made. The West Germans, who are working to develop a fragile dialogue with the East, have expressed concern to us on several occasions that the President's speech not condemn the East too harshly. In addition, the Berliners are actively trying to play down the image of their city being isolated and under siege from the East.
- The draft describes the Berlin Wall (page 2) dividing the entire continent from the Baltic to the Harz Mountains. This is incorrect and references to the Wall should be clearly distinguished from references to the heavily fortified inner-German border.
- The draft invites Gorbachev to come to Berlin (page 6) if he seeks peace, prosperity and liberalization. This may ring somewhat contrived in view of the fact that Gorbachev will have been in East Berlin two weeks prior to the President's visit.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
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- o The draft urges the people of Berlin to reach out to the East (page 8). Governing Mayor Diepgen, with a certain disdain for the status of Berlin and the Allied role, has recently tried to do just this, causing some consternation among the Allies. Though Diepgen has been unsuccessful so far, this theme will clearly be misinterpreted by many Berliners to the detriment of our own ability to control future events in Berlin.
- o The draft proposes a CSCE meeting (page 8) be held in Berlin, alternating between both halves of the city. However, US policy demands that human rights groups have access to the conference site -- something the GDR would hardly agree to if a meeting were held in East Berlin. We also have to consider costs. We're going to be \$500,000 short on our payments to the Austrians this year alone. A conference held at two sites will be almost twice as expensive. Equally important is the status issue. CSCE meetings are traditionally opened by a representative of the "host government". In East and West Berlin there are no less than seven candidates (US, UK, France, FRG, Berlin Senat, USSR, GDR) who might claim to be the legitimate host, and we could never agree to the GDR playing host in Berlin.
- o The draft proposes that arms control negotiations be scheduled in Berlin (page 8), again alternating between both halves of the city. Again this would raise the same problems of cost and determining a host for the meetings. In addition, we are very concerned that negotiations on arms control not be conducted in a city where the substance of the talks is likely to be upstaged or sidetracked by the process and logistics of the talks.
- o The draft suggests the Berlin Senat might wish to invite the United Nations to hold conferences in Berlin (page 8). In addition to status problems, a central consideration in such a decision would be our firm policy on UN financing. It may not be appreciated if we suggest, however obliquely, that the Senat invite and pick up the tab for UN meetings in the city.
- o The draft suggests that the 1992 Olympic Games be hosted in East and West Berlin (page 9). However, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has already scheduled the 1992 games for Barcelona. In addition, we feel that a Presidential appeal to schedule future Olympic Games in Berlin would cause consternation in the IOC and be viewed as unwanted meddling.

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